

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NOVEMBER 15-DECEMBER 14, 1982



VOLUME 9, NUMBER 11, 25¢

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What Is the U.S. Up to in Central America?

By ALBERT LARY

In recent weeks a bewildering series of threats, concessions, information leaks and apparent policy shifts toward Central American countries have emerged rapidly from the State Department, with no obvious pattern. Will the U.S. invade Nicaragua? Will it negotiate with the Salvadorean left? Would it really cut off aid to the Salvadorean regime?

Whatever the answers to these questions, one thread stands out from all the tangled facts: a renewed determination by the U.S. to regain the political, economic and military initiative in Central America.

AT the moment, State Department strategy seems to be focused on Nicaragua. U.S. officials talk openly about the need to destabilize the Sandinista government as a means to cut off military aid which they believe is flowing from Nicaragua to the Salvadorean left. To do this, they have created a 4,000-man army of right-wing Nicaraguan exiles, based in 10 camps along both sides of Nicaragua's northern border with Honduras. They have committed \$20 million and 50 CIA agents. The agents provide logistical support for armed raids into Nicaragua, and train the right-wing rebels, along with Honduran forces, in small arms use, sabotage operations, intelligence gathering and interrogation (torture).

Over the past year these rightist forces have attacked bridges, construction sites, army patrols and pro-Sandinista villages inside Nicaragua. In February they exploded a suitcase bomb in Managua's international airport. Altogether, over 200 Nicaraguans have been killed by the counter-revolutionaries.

THEIR methods are those of U.S.-trained death squads around the world. On October 28, United Press International reported that a group of these well-armed "contras" crossed the Honduran border to attack a peasant village near El Jicaró, Nicaragua. Juan Angel

Blandón, a reservist in the Sandinista army, was seized along with his six sons. The "contras" first cut off their ears, then stabbed them repeatedly, and finally left their decapitated corpses as a warning to other villagers.

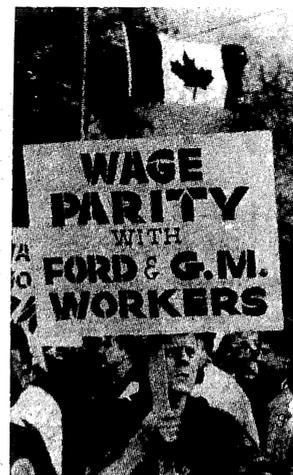
"We are not waging a secret war, or anything like that," says a U.S. intelligence official. "What we are doing is trying to keep Managua off balance...."

The war is certainly not secret. Although the outline of the CIA's destabilization plan was first made public in March of this year, it became much more widely known with the November 8 publication of Newsweek's "Exclusive Report on America's Secret War for Nicaragua." According to Newsweek, the CIA's original secret intervention in Nicaragua began in 1978 under President Carter, but has since grown out of control and now threatens to provoke a full-scale Nicaraguan-Honduran war.

The U.S. is militarizing Honduras at a rapid pace. It is improving airport facilities in Honduras and on San Andrés, a Colombian island near the Nicaraguan coast. It is training supporters of dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle for the sole purpose of overthrowing the Sandinista government. And it has planned a huge joint military exercise with Honduras for early next year along the Nicaraguan border, intended to intimidate the Sandinistas.

FOR their part, the Sandinistas have been predicting a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua almost every month for over a year, and it hasn't happened yet. But that uncertainty, and the instability that goes with it, is exactly the effect the U.S. imperialists want. The constant state of alert in Nicaragua becomes demoralizing after many months and interferes with economic development plans. It also creates internal repression. All of these things, in turn, create more internal opposition to the Sandinista government. That—more than an outright invasion—seems to be the current U.S.

(Continued on page 8)



Solidarity Needed With Canadian Autoworkers

See page 2

Racist Frame-Up Turned Back in Mississippi

See page 5



Dispute in United Secretariat Reveals Crisis of Trotskyist Theory — Part Five

See page 9



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Solidarity Needed With Canadian Autoworkers

The following report was written by an unemployed Chrysler worker in Detroit.

Resistance to nearly three years of repeated concessions has broken into the open among workers at the Chrysler Corporation. In mid-October, Chrysler workers in the U.S. rejected the contract negotiated by Chrysler management and the leadership of the UAW. Then, on November 5, nearly 10,000 UAW workers struck Chrysler Canada.

The major demand of the striking Canadian workers is parity with General Motors and Ford workers. Though the strikers' spirits are high, there is much anger at Chrysler's attempt to break the strike by refusing to even consider a settlement with the Canadian section of the UAW until a final pact is reached in the U.S. (This is the first year that Canadian autoworkers have a contract separate from UAW members in the U.S.) And Chrysler has hinted it may move parts and operations from Canadian plants to the U.S. to undermine the strike.

UAW union locals in Windsor, Ontario (center of Chrysler's Canadian operations and across the river from Detroit), have responded to this threat by beefing up around-the-clock picket lines. The striking workers have also received considerable support from the Canadian labor movement. The Windsor Labor Council, for example, is supporting the strike and workers at a Ford local in Windsor have voted to increase their dues to aid the strikers.

Strong resistance to the strike is coming from the U.S. news media. At the outset of the walkout, Detroit-area TV stations went to U.S. plant gates to look for workers who would condemn their Canadian brothers and sisters. For days, they were unsuccessful. Only recently have they found a few workers willing to speak out against the Canadian strike and they are being given air time while workers who support the strike are not seen on TV anymore. In general, the news media is working overtime to scare people with the prospect of increasing layoffs in the U.S. as a result of the strike.

The Canadian workers are countering the charges that a long strike could bring down Chrysler and that the striking workers would be responsible for the company's failure. They point out that it is Chrysler management that has made the

strike necessary. The Canadian workers are well aware that if management is allowed to keep making demands on the workers without resistance, the rights of all autoworkers and the very life of the union will be threatened. The Canadian workers also know that concessions are no solution to the economic crisis.

Right now, solidarity from U.S. workers, particularly autoworkers, is crucial. Fraser and the rest of the UAW leadership in the States are not going to organize it. They oppose any action against Chrysler. But if the Canadians win a victory, it can only help U.S. workers. On the other hand, if the support that exists for strikers among U.S. workers remains largely passive, the longer-range ability of U.S. workers to resist the capitalists' anti-working class offensive will be weakened. To combat the anti-union ideas that are now being spread around the issue of the Canadian strike, the pro-union forces must be organized, visible and vocal.

What happened in the U.S.?

The rejection of the U.S. contract negotiated in mid-September was overwhelming—70 percent voted NO. But the Fraser leadership remains dead-set against a strike and is entirely devoted to the concessions strategy to deal with the economic crisis. In the wake of the contract rejection, the UAW leadership refused to strike and maneuvered against the more militant sections of the ranks who wanted to act.

Fraser and the UAW National Bargaining Committee went back to management and asked for a wage increase. Chrysler said no; any increase, from their point of view, would only come at the expense of health benefits. Fraser responded by announcing to a meeting of the UAW Chrysler Council that he planned to hold a referendum over whether to strike November 1 or to wait and reopen negotiations in January. While the majority of the officials on the council backed the proposal for a referendum, representatives who opposed it and favored a strike were not even given the right to vote on the proposal. (In fact, the ballots had already been printed and sent to the locals before the council even met.)

The referendum was held on October 26. In the five days leading up to it, Fraser and the



Striking Canadian Chrysler workers demonstrate outside the company's Pillette Road plant in Windsor, Ontario, on first day of walkout.

rest of the UAW leadership, Chrysler and the news media waged a massive campaign about how Chrysler would be endangered by a strike, reminding people that strike benefits were only \$65 a week, that Christmas and winter heating bills were just around the corner, etc. The vote was 27,335 to 11,873 to extend the existing contract until after negotiations early next year.

Some autoworkers who had voted against the contract hoped a strike could be avoided and some gains made at the table if they showed the company and union leaders they were massively dissatisfied with the policies of the past two and a half years. They thought the pressure of a large no vote would be enough and didn't understand the need for militancy and organization to combat both Chrysler and the pro-concession union bureaucracy. Other workers were hesitant to strike, feeling they were in an objectively weak position.

Old-style trade unionism will not work

Unfortunately, the 11,873 workers who favored a strike were not well enough organized to overcome Fraser and the bureaucracy and unite and pull into action the broader layers of angry and dissatisfied workers. A deeper problem still is that the old-style trade union tactics used in times of prosperity will no longer work. We must be clear that we cannot win limited gains or defend what little we have by fighting back as small, isolated sections of workers around our own limited demands. More and more, we are facing a unified attack by the employers and their allies in the government, the news media, etc. In each struggle, we must pursue a strategy of uniting the

into the struggle the section of Chrysler workers who are most sure to be anti-Fraser. We must reach out to the 40,000 union members at Chrysler who are unemployed. Relief for them must be seen as the issue of employed workers as well. Actions by unemployed Chrysler workers in support of resistance, the development of literature explaining why concessions will not save jobs and the development of demands that speak to the issue of unemployment are essential. The suffering of the unemployed must not be used by the people who are responsible for it to undermine the fight for the rights of employed workers and all workers.

3) We must forge ties with workers outside Chrysler so that when actions are taken against both Chrysler and the union misleadership, we can call on support from these workers. The Canadian UAW strikers have the support of other unions; we must try to build the same kind of solidarity.

4) We must organize immediate action in support of the Canadians. UAW members in the U.S. must support their striking brothers and sisters in Canada. The bureaucrats will oppose any real support. Outside those locals that do support the Canadian workers, the ranks should organize their own support, while fighting those who wish to block solidarity action. □

IN THIS ISSUE

NOVEMBER 15-DECEMBER 14, 1982

- 1 What is the U.S. up to in Central America?
- 2 Solidarity needed with Canadian autoworkers
- 3 U.S. politics after the '82 elections
- 4 Insurgents win in UMW elections
- 5 Dismissal sought in LA draft resistance case
- 6 Racist frame-up turned back in Mississippi
- 7 1,500 demonstrate in D.C. against Klan
- 8 History of Haiti: part four
- 9 Beauty contests are racist and sexist
- 10 Pan Am refuses INS death flights
- 11 Dispute in USec: part five
- 12 Program in Brief of the RSL
- 13 Anti-sex law passed in Iran

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Setback for Reaganomics

U.S. Politics After the '82 Elections

By PAUL BENJAMIN

In a campaign where the economy and Reaganomics were the overriding issues, the 1982 elections resulted in a major defeat for the Reagan administration and the Republican Party.

Republicans lost 26 seats in the House of Representatives, the largest such loss any first-term president's party has suffered since 1922. In the Senate, where the Republicans thought it was crucial to increase their majority, the Democrats held their own despite having to defend 20 seats to the Republicans' 13. A shift of only 43,000 votes in five states would have enabled the Democrats to actually recapture control of the Senate. And Democrats won even more impressive gains on the state level, winning seven governorships as well as substantial gains in state legislatures.

These results give only a partial indication of the magnitude of the Republican defeat. In the 1980 elections Reagan won a landslide victory in the presidential race, while the Republican Party as a whole gained 33 seats in the House and control of the Senate for the first time since 1956. Jubilant Republicans proclaimed an historic realignment in U.S. politics, predicting an entire era of conservative Republican rule comparable to the period of liberal Democratic Party domination that began with Roosevelt's New Deal administration in 1932.

Such dreams of an emerging Republican majority collapsed on November 2. The Democrats were highly successful in mobilizing their traditional supporters for the elections. In particular Black people, who voted in massive numbers around the country, gave over 90 percent of their votes to Democratic candidates.

In many cases Blacks, seeking some protection from the Reagan offensive, supported conservative and even racist Democratic candidates because their Republican opponents were even worse. In Alabama, for example, Black voters supported George Wallace for governor, despite his notorious racist record in the 1960s and 1970s, because his opponent, according to one Black Alabama politician, was "a combi-

nation of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Tojo." For similar reasons Blacks helped reelect Mississippi Senator John Stennis, and supported Texas Democrat Mark White's successful campaign for governor, although he openly opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act while his opponent, the incumbent Bill Clements, nominally supported it.

At the same time, blue-collar workers, who gave Reagan over 40 percent of their votes in 1980, supported Democratic candidates by a better than two-to-one margin. In fact, almost every group that voted Republican in 1980 went over to the Democrats in the recent elections. Younger voters, older voters, white-collar and middle class voters, women, all supported Democrats by wide margins. Among such groups only wealthy voters earning at least \$40,000 a year voted Republican, by a thin 50-47 percent margin.

Meanwhile, the New Right kingmakers who claimed a decisive impact on the 1980 elections were humiliated in 1982. The National Conservative Political Action Committee targeted 36 Democratic candidates for defeat—and saw 35 of them win. And the Congressional Club organized by ultra-conservative Senator Jesse Helms saw 15 of the 18 candidates it endorsed go down in defeat, including six candidates in Helms' home state of North Carolina.

Unemployment was key issue

Despite all this, the Democrats did not win a blanket endorsement from the voters. Incumbent members of Congress from both parties did extremely well in the elections, winning 90 percent of their races compared to only 45 percent in 1980. Moreover, in three key Senate races—Connecticut, Rhode Island and Missouri—voters reelected moderate Republican incumbents running against liberal Democratic opponents.

What the election results mean is that in the face of 10.4 percent unemployment and mushrooming budget deficits, voters are overwhelmingly rejecting the Reagan administration's economic policies, with-



November 2 elections were a defeat for Reaganomics. Black people, in particular, turned out in large numbers, supporting even racists like George Wallace of Alabama to keep Republicans out of office.

out, however, having a clear idea of what should be done about the economy.

The popular demand for action on the economy may lead to some modification of government policy, such as token job programs or minor cuts in the defense budget. But it is highly unlikely that the government will be able to solve the country's economic problems, because neither the Republicans nor the Democrats can provide effective leadership in defining economic policy.

If anything, the elections are likely to intensify the leadership crisis in the ruling class of this country. On the one hand, while the administration and its conservative allies in Congress think they have a program that will work (slashing away at social programs, building up the military, and relying on private investment to rescue the economy), they no longer have the political clout to carry out their program. On the other hand, the Democrats won't take an aggressive lead in defining economic policy. Their chief goal is to position themselves for the 1984 elections by pinning responsibility for the economic crisis on Reagan and the Republicans.

Most important, neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have a workable solution to the problems of the U.S. economy, let alone the rapidly worsening international economic crisis.

As a result, the elections will only help deepen the economic and political problems of the country. The government could be paralyzed by conflicts between the Democrat-controlled House and the Republican-controlled Senate, or between a conservative president and the coalition of moderate Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Even if the politicians avoid such open conflicts, they can do so only through compro-

mises and half-measures that will satisfy no one and solve no problems.

Right-wing sentiment still strong

This lack of any effective political leadership, combined with the economic crisis itself, is likely to increase the developing polarization of U.S. society. One side of this polarization will be the continued growth of extreme right-wing movements and organizations. To be sure, the New Right suffered a defeat in the elections, leading some commentators to claim it

no longer has a major role to play in U.S. politics. But the fact is that while the candidates of the New Right were beaten, the right-wing movement still retains a strong social base that had a significant impact on the 1982 elections.

Racism, in particular, was a key factor in several state and local races. In California Tom Bradley, the Black mayor of Los Angeles, lost a close race for governor to right-wing Republican George Deukmejian. Bradley is an ex-cop who ran a conservative city administration and had wide support among the white Democratic Party leadership. Early polls gave him

(Continued on page 13)

RSL LAUNCHES 1982 FUND DRIVE

Dear Torch/La Antorcha reader:

A year ago we appealed to you to contribute generously to the Revolutionary Socialist League's annual fund drive. We pointed out that with many RSL supporters on layoff or otherwise strapped financially, our income from their contributions—our largest source of funds—was declining. Yet our expenses were going up in spite of various cutbacks we were making. The result: a financial crisis and our plea for help from you.

Your contributions helped us meet the crisis. Thanks to the success of our 1981 fund drive, we were able to continue our work through 1982 without having to go deeply in debt.

Now we once again need your help. The RSL and its supporters have been hard-hit by this year's near-depression. In September we were forced to cut the Torch/La Antorcha from 24 to 20 pages. We have had to cut back on our already small staff, making it harder to produce the paper and carry out other necessary work. And we have not been able to send representatives to conferences and other events that were important to attend.

We know that these are hard times for everyone, but your contribution to this year's RSL fund drive can make a real difference. Won't you write a check today and help us continue to bring you the best possible newspaper we can? (Please make checks payable to RSL or Christopher Z. Hobson and send to RSL, PO Box 1288, GPO, New York, NY 10116.)

Insurgents Sweep UMW Elections

Coal miners looking for effective leadership to save their jobs—and their union—chose insurgent candidate Rich Trumka to replace incumbent Sam Church as president of the United Mine Workers union (UMW) by a two-to-one margin in elections held November 9. Cecil Roberts and John Banovic, who ran for UMW vice-president and secretary-treasurer on Trumka's "Why Not the Best" slate, also won easy victories over Church-supported candidates.

THE elections took place at a time of crisis for the UMW. An expected "coal boom" has failed to materialize because of the recession and lower oil prices. Coal companies are cutting back production, leaving more than 30,000 of the UMW's 160,000 members un-

employed and another 20,000 working short workweeks.

More broadly, the UMW is rapidly losing its power to defend miners' jobs—or anything else—because only 44 percent of the coal mined in the U.S. is produced at UMW-organized mines. And the giant energy corporations that now dominate the coal industry are aggressively trying to extend scab mining even into the UMW's traditional strongholds in West Virginia, Kentucky and other eastern states.

Despite these attacks Church followed a policy of collaboration with the mine owners that aroused bitter opposition among rank and file miners. Church was appointed to lead the union by the UMW's International Executive Board (IEB) in 1979 following the resigna-



tion of president Arnold Miller. At the UMW's convention in 1980 he strengthened his control over the union's apparatus while calling on the membership to unite behind him for the up-

coming 1981 contract negotiations.

BUT in the contract talks Church approved a tentative settlement that gave mine owners new power to subcontract some operations to non-union companies. He also gave up royalties that the companies traditionally paid to the UMW pension fund for mining non-union coal and agreed to other giveaways. And in a separate memorandum Church agreed "in principle" to consider company alternatives to the UMW's current industrywide health plan in future contract talks.

Although the proposed contract also included wage raises and other benefits, angry miners denounced Church as "Sell-out Sam" for agreeing to such concessions. They rejected the tentative agreement by a two-to-one margin and struck for 71 days before ratifying a new contract that restored the royalties and reversed some of the other takeaways in the original settlement.

During the contract struggle Trumka emerged as a leading spokesperson for militants in the union? Trumka is a lawyer who comes from a coal mining family and worked in the mines himself during vacations while attending college and law school. After earning his law degree he did legal work for the UMW, then went to work in the mines to establish his eligibility to run for union office.

IN May 1981, while the strike was still going on, Trumka easily won election to the IEB from UMW District Four in western Pennsylvania. Just eight months later he announced his candidacy for UMW president. Trumka then formed an election slate with Roberts and Banovic, who also opposed Church's tentative settlement and who represented two of the largest districts in the UMW.

In the campaign itself, Church claimed that he had won "prosperity" for UMW



New UMW President Rich Trumka.

members by gaining wage increases while other unions accepted wage cuts or freezes. He also took credit for bringing "stability" to the coal fields by opposing wildcat strikes. At the same time, he accused his opponents of being inexperienced militants who would "gamble the future of the UMW" and be "eaten alive" at the negotiating table. In particular, he labeled Trumka an "ambitious lawyer" who lied about his employment record in order to run for office and a radical sympathizer to leftist groups who supported his campaign. Church also got verbal and financial support for his campaign from conservative union leaders such as AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Seafarers International Union President Frank Drozak, as well as backing from the right-wing U.S. Labor Party.

But such efforts had little effect on Trumka's well-organized campaign. Trumka and his running mates promised UMW members "no more concessions" and "no more give-away contracts." Trumka called Church a "bumbling negotiator" and argued that the union needed more "sophisticated" leadership to defeat the coal companies' union-busting tactics. And he denied Church's red-baiting charges while accusing Church of relying on "outsiders" to finance his campaign.

DESPITE Trumka's militant rhetoric, however, he and his running mates have given little indication of how they plan to lead the union through this difficult period, and it remains to be seen what policy they will follow now that they are in office. □

Dismissal Sought in LA Draft Resistance Case

LOS ANGELES—Attorneys for David Wayte, the 21-year-old L.A. man charged with failing to register with the Selective Service System for a future military draft, have filed a motion asking that Wayte's case be dismissed. On November 10, Wayte's lawyers argued before federal district Judge Terry Hatter that the government's refusal to comply with a court order was grounds for dismissal. On October 28, Hatter had ordered presidential adviser Edwin Meese to testify about how the government had decided whom to prosecute for non-registration. He also ordered the government to turn over various documents related to draft registration to the defense.

AS we reported in the last issue of the Torch, Wayte and his lawyers argued in pre-trial hearings that the government was only prosecuting public non-registrants, those young men who had spoken out against draft registration. Judge Hatter agreed that the defense had a point and ordered the government to turn various documents over to the court. It was after reviewing these documents that Hatter ordered Meese to testify and the government to release the documents to Wayte's lawyers. On November 5, however, government prosecutors stated that they wouldn't



Trial of draft resister David Wayte could produce major victory for anti-draft movement.

comply with the court order. Judge Hatter is expected to rule on the motion for dismissal during the week of November 15. If Wayte's case is dismissed, the government will most likely appeal the decision to the Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco. No trial date for Wayte has been set pending the outcome of the pre-trial hearings.

A dismissal in the Wayte case would be a major victory for the anti-draft movement. Of the approximately one dozen young men indicted for non-registration, Wayte would be the only one to have successfully shown that the government was carry-

ing out selective prosecutions in an attempt to prevent resistance to draft registration. Public non-registrant Benjamin Sasway of San Diego, convicted in August, attempted to bring up this point in his trial but was overruled by the judge. Sasway is currently out on bail pending appeal of his case. A victory for Wayte could be expected to aid Sasway's appeal significantly.

MOREOVER, a dismissal of Wayte's case would likely force the government to either begin indicting non-registrants at random—something it has shown no inclination to do—or back off the prosecutions. □

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Jubilant Eddie Carthan leans in murder trial.

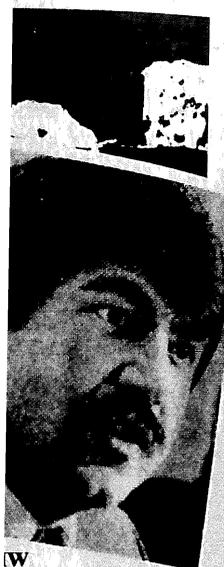
By MARK KOSTOPOULOS

Eddie Carthan, former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, found innocent of murder charges by an all-Black jury November 3. Carthan, a Black man, had been accused of paying others to murder a political opponent. The verdict comes on the heels of a 2,000-strong demonstration October 16 demanding Carthan's freedom.

DURING the trial, Carthan and his supporters attempted to show that the white power establishment of Tchula framed Carthan in an effort to eliminate him and discourage Black political action in the majority-Black area. The jury was easily convinced, taking only 45 minutes to reach its verdict. The verdict was an important victory for Black political rights but the fight goes on to free Eddie Carthan, who remains in jail on other charges dreamed up by the power structure of Holmes County and the state of Mississippi. The white officials and businessmen of Mississippi have never accepted the gains made by Black people in the 1960s.

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Racist Frame-Up Turned Back in Mississippi



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Jubilant Eddie Carthan leaves courthouse after winning acquittal in murder trial.

By MARK KOSTOPOULOS

Eddie Carthan, former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, was found innocent of murder charges by an all-Black jury November 3. Carthan, a Black man, had been accused of paying others to murder a political opponent. The verdict comes on the heels of a 2,000-strong demonstration October 16 demanding Carthan's freedom.

DURING the trial, Carthan and his supporters attempted to show that the white power establishment of Tchula had framed Carthan in an effort to eliminate him and discourage Black political action in this majority-Black area. The jury was easily convinced, taking only 45 minutes to reach the verdict. The verdict was an important victory for Black political rights but the fight goes on to free Eddie Carthan, who remains in jail on other charges dreamed up by the power structure of Holmes County and the state of Mississippi.

The white officials and businessmen of Mississippi have never accepted the gains made by Black people in the 1960s.

Carthan's election as mayor of Tchula in 1977—he was the first Black to be elected mayor of a biracial town in the Mississippi Delta since Reconstruction—sent shudders through the white power establishment.

Tchula, a town of 1,900, 81 percent Black, is not unlike many of the majority-Black towns in the river delta areas of Louisiana, Arkansas and Mississippi. Unemployment is over 30 percent, 66 percent of the people receive welfare, 81 percent of the housing units are classified as deteriorating, and 47 percent have no indoor plumbing. When Carthan was elected, he took some small but significant steps to alleviate these conditions. Federal monies were obtained, daycare and nutrition projects set up and new industries vigorously sought.

IT was this last point which perhaps most scared the white planters. The planters depend on high unemployment and lack of alternative work to create a large pool of farm labor that can be employed for next to nothing. So when their attempts to co-opt Carthan failed and he rejected a \$10,000 bribe, they

opened a campaign of harassment and obstructionism.

In 1978 the white establishment won control of the five-member town governing board, when a Black anti-Carthan candidate was elected to fill a seat left vacant by a Carthan supporter. The new alderman, Jacyne Gibson, then joined with the sole white alderman and another anti-Carthan Black alderman, Roosevelt Granderson, to defeat all of Carthan's proposals. The dispute between the mayor and the board grew more bitter as the board majority locked city hall, refused to pay city salaries, reduced the mayor's salary and stopped attending town board meetings.

The conflict climaxed in April 1980, when Mayor Carthan appointed a Black man, John Dale, as acting police chief. The board quickly appointed a white man, Jim Andrews, to the post, although it is the duty of the mayor to fill the position. When Andrews seized the police station, Mayor Carthan and six others went to the station to expel him. Andrews resisted and minor force was needed to remove him. Following this incident Andrews and a police officer pressed assault charges against the seven, who became known as the Tchula Seven.

In April of 1981, the seven were convicted of assaulting a police officer, not Andrews, whose involvement in the scuffle is disputed. (That officer is no longer on the force; he is currently working for Andrews' brother-in-law.) All of the Tchula Seven except Carthan were given suspended sentences. Carthan was forced to resign as mayor and given three years in the state penitentiary.

EVEN then the white power structure did not leave Carthan alone. In October 1981 Carthan was sentenced to three more years for bank fraud. The case revolved around a scheme by a state official and a businessman to steal a \$32,000 loan made to the town. The state official admits forging Carthan's name in order to carry out the plan, but claims he had Carthan's permission. Carthan vigorously denies the charge. Although there was no other direct evidence against him, Carthan was sentenced to an additional three years and was fined \$5,000. The other defendants in the case received minimal sentences after the plea bargaining that resulted in Carthan's conviction.

Former Mayor Carthan's latest trial resulted from the murder of Roosevelt Granderson on June 28, 1981. Two out-

of-state men were quickly arrested and charged with the murder, which occurred during a store robbery. County officials immediately tried to link Carthan to the murder. Originally all the men arrested denied knowing him. But under intense pressure from the county sheriff and district attorney, two of the five men eventually indicted went along with the story that Carthan had promised to pay

them for killing Granderson and undisclosed others. But the jury was not convinced and sided with the growing movement to free Carthan.

JACKSON, Mississippi, was host to approximately 2,000 Black, religious, student and political activists demanding Carthan's release on October 16. The march attracted participants from as far away as California, New York and Minnesota. The spirited multi-racial group chanted and sang as it walked eight miles through the city's Black neighborhoods to near the state capital. The crowd was addressed by activists Dick Gregory, Anne Braden and Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Rev. Joseph Lowery. Separate rallies were held in 27 cities across the nation. □

1,500 Demonstrate in D.C. Against Klan; KKK Says It Will March November 27

WASHINGTON, D. C. — More than 1,500 anti-Klan activists gathered in the nation's capital for a November 6 "March Against the Klan, Racism and Anti-Semitism and For Jobs, Justice and Equality." The anti-Klan protest, which began at the Capitol building and marched to the White House, was organized to counter the plans announced by a newly-formed confederation of Ku Klux Klan groups to hold a rally on the same date here. The anti-Klan protest was sponsored by the National Anti-Klan Network, the All-Peoples Congress and the People Against Racism and the Klan, as well as by numerous local and national anti-racist and anti-Klan organizations.

Though the Klan confederation canceled its November 6 march, it has since announced that it will stage a major rally in D.C. on November 27. The confederation, which recently united seven former rival KKK factions, claims a membership of 60,000 and says it will march through the streets of the nation's capital in white robes and hoods. The KKK has not held a major rally in D.C. in over 50 years.

Plans for an anti-Klan counter-protest on November 27 are

now being made by various local D.C. groups. As of this writing, the precise nature of this anti-Klan mobilization has not yet been decided on.

Organizers of the November 6 anti-Klan demonstration termed the effort an "important victory over the Klan," since the Klan confederation had cited the expected size of the anti-Klan protest as a major factor in its decision to cancel its scheduled march. However, it is possible that the Klan deliberately outmaneuvered the anti-racist movement by drawing it into a November 6 national mobilization, thereby weakening its ability to organize a protest on the 27th. That this maneuver may have been successful is suggested by the fact that all three coalitions that were the principal organizers of the November 6 action have already indicated that they do not plan to organize a second, national counter-demonstration for November 27. This will leave the main burden for an anti-racist counter-protest on various local D.C. groups and might result in a smaller anti-Klan turnout.

The RSL is actively organizing for the November 27 anti-Klan protest. For information and transportation arrangements, call: (212) 695-6802. □

Part Four

A neo-colony of the United States

Part one of this series described life in the French colony of St. Domingue (Haiti)—where a ruthless white ruling class used the labor of 700,000 African slaves to create the world's richest colony. In parts two and three, we followed events as the slaves rose up for their freedom, defeated the slave masters and defended themselves against a series of European colonialist interventions. We left off in 1804. Haiti was free at last, the second independent nation in the New World and the only one where slavery had been abolished.

By WILLIAM FALK

Compared to the turbulence of the 14 years of the Haitian Revolution, the decades of the nineteenth century were relatively uneventful ones for the Haitian people.

Internationally, France and the other colonial powers reluctantly accepted that they could not force the Haitian people back into slavery. But at the same time, they sought to isolate the country out of fear that the Revolution would inspire revolts elsewhere. They refused to recognize or open relations with Haiti, in much the same way that, during the 1950s and '60s, the U.S. refused to recognize the People's Republic of China.

Inside Haiti, the masses of people were exhausted by the years of war and they had neither the skills needed to govern nor any organization to unite them (except for the army, which was built on commands from the top down). The majority of people turned to the struggle for day-to-day existence. Meanwhile, a new ruling class, about five percent of the population, emerged and took control of the country.

The majority of the elite were descendants of mulattoes who were freed persons and property owners in the southern provinces before the Revolution. These people fully embraced the fetish for light skin and Euro-

pean speech and manners that is common in Latin American elites. They began to consider themselves a separate and superior race from the majority of Haitian people.

A smaller section of the ruling class was made up of generals in the army, and they were typically dark-skinned and from the northern provinces. The two groups jockeyed for governmental power. From 1806-1820 the nation was divided into two countries, one ruled by the mulatto elite and one ruled by the Black elite. Later the rivalry led to many coups d'etat.

This rivalry and the heritage of the Revolution prevented the ruling class from building a strong state apparatus. For instance, by 1826 hundreds of thousands of Haitians were growing food on small plots and refused to work on those sugar plantations that still existed. The entire ruling class united behind a complex set of new laws designed to force the peasants back onto the plantations.

But the new laws were universally ignored. The army, in which every able-bodied man outside of the elite had to serve, could not be used, as it had been in the days of Toussaint and Dessalines, to enforce labor discipline. The soldiers were simply not willing to take actions their communities disapproved of.

The ruling class learned to be content with money from land

rents and government salaries. They adopted aristocratic values that made a virtue of the inactivity that was forced on them by their relative weakness vis-a-vis the Haitian peasantry on one side, and the world's powers on the other.

By mid-century the central government had little influence outside the vicinity of the major cities. In the countryside it neither recorded births, marriages and deaths nor collected taxes. Roads, wharfs, irrigation works and everything else deteriorated. The Dominican Republic, which off and on had been part of Haiti, became a separate country for good.

A little less than 30 percent of all Haitians now owned and farmed small plots. About an equal number were squatters, farming plots that were theirs in practice but not legally. Another 30 percent were farming land owned by someone else and paying a share of each year's crop as rent. Coffee, which grows wild on Haiti's hillsides, replaced sugar as the main cash crop.

Imperialists gain influence

Throughout the nineteenth century, Haiti became more and more of a neo-colonial country. Both sections of the ruling class were apt to offer concessions to foreign governments to win sup-



Emergence of ruling class—dominated by pro-European mulatto elite—in 19th century meant continued oppression for newly independent Haitian people.



U.S. Marines on patrol in Haiti in 1919.

port for their various power bids. And Haiti accumulated a large foreign debt, beginning in 1825 when France demanded huge reparations in exchange for recognizing Haiti's independence. The debt from this payment alone had to be refinanced many times over (claims from it were not fully settled until 1952). Later many loans were taken out in the name of the Haitian government simply to line the pockets of whoever was the current president and his cronies. France, Germany, England and the U.S. all began to play a major role in Haiti's governments.

The final step in the conversion of Haiti into a neo-colony came when the U.S. invaded in 1915. Between 1900 and 1916, the U.S. sent troops to nearly a dozen countries in the Caribbean basin. In each country the troops went in on one pretext or another but the overall goals were to crush or prevent rebellion against U.S. commercial and political domination of the region and to prevent rival imperialists from gaining a significant presence.

The U.S.'s specific interest in Haiti stemmed largely from its position on the Windward Passage, through which most traffic to the Panama Canal and Central America must sail. The U.S. Navy controlled the Passage from its base in Cuba's Guantanamo Bay but was worried a rival imperialist, perhaps Germany, might get Haitian permission for a navy base at Môle St. Nicolas.

The U.S. Marines landed in the Haitian capital, Port-au-Prince, on July 28, 1915. They met little resistance, although the residents who used their second story windows to shower Marine patrols with "household waste" probably came close to approximating the national feeling.

The U.S. installed a client president and declared martial law. They took control of the

customs house and the government treasury. U.S. banks took over the entire Haitian debt. Marines both patrolled the country and took the command positions in a newly formed Gendarmerie d'Haiti (later renamed Garde d'Haiti). In short, the U.S. took every significant position of power. A few years after the invasion, the U.S. wrote and forced the adoption of a new constitution that, among other things, dropped the prohibition against foreigners owning property in Haiti that had been part of every constitution since Dessalines.

Revolt against U.S. forced labor

One of the immediate goals of the occupation forces was to build a road system. Beginning in July 1916, peasants were ordered to pay a tax or report for work on the roads. By means of the corvée, as the forced labor system was called, 470 miles of road were built. In some places, peasants were roped together in gangs while

they worked and kept beyond the supposed three days each. Some workers were taken to the farms of local off-whites have come to slavery, the corvée is beginning.

For the first time revolts against the U.S. out. In the north, the rebels were called, gained support of at least 20 percent of the population.

The Cacos numbered 16,000 and were armed with machetes, clubs and rifles. The client government Gendarmerie numbered 1,400, but they had no guns and airplanes. By 1920, about 19 months after their initial uprising, the rebels were defeated.

By this time, German

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Below we are reprinting article by Patsy Christie September 27-October 26, issue of the Forward, paper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, sister organization of the

Over the years the capitalist class, through their various organizations and their "beauty" contests. These tacles bring together a middle class and upper women to compete for themselves and to be used symbols.

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1919.

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they worked and kept way beyond the supposed limit of three days each. Some corvée workers were taken to labor on the farms of local officials. A rumor swept the island: The whites have come to restore slavery, the corvée is only the beginning.

For the first time, popular revolts against the U.S. broke out. In the north, the revolt was headed by Charlemagne Peralte, a member of the Black elite who quite openly wanted to use the rebelling peasants to defeat the current client president and then "unite with the better American element which has already won its laurels in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Isles of Hawaii." Whatever the motives of the leaders, the fight of the Cacos, as the rebels were called, gained the support of at least 20 percent of the population.

The Cacos numbered about 16,000 and were armed with machetes, clubs and primitive rifles. The client government's Gendarmerie numbered 2,700 and the U.S. Marines numbered 1,400, but they had machine guns and airplanes. By May 1920, about 19 months after their initial uprising, the Cacos were defeated.

By this time, Germany had

been eliminated as a rival naval power and, all things being equal, the Marines would have begun to leave the country. By 1924, for instance, the last Marines left the Dominican Republic and the pro-U.S. strongman Rafael Trujillo soon took over. But there was no strongman to leave in charge of Haiti—partly because the first Marine commander felt no Black person could be trusted with a gun—and the Marines stayed on.

Racist hypocrisy

The official purpose of the occupation was now "Uplift"—the idea that Haitians were not fit to govern themselves. The true face of "Uplift" is best shown by the 1927 Haitian budget, drawn up by the U.S. Only about \$1 million was due in loan payments that year, but the U.S. instituted accelerated repayment of Haiti's debt. Over \$2.6 million of the budget went to U.S. banks. About \$1.4 million went for public construction projects, and about \$1.3 million to the Gendarmerie. Public health, the agriculture service and public in-

struction received only \$0.7 million, \$0.5 million and \$0.4 million, respectively.

The U.S. made some steps to re-establish plantation agriculture in Haiti, including land surveys. But serious attempts in this direction were warded off by the clear difficulty in forcing the peasants off their land. Beginning in the 1920s, however, the United Fruit and General Sugar Companies induced 20,000 Haitian workers a year to go to Cuba for seasonal labor at \$1 a day, below typical Cuban wages but five times the wage in Haiti.

Along with their machine guns, the U.S. brought to Haiti tons of racism, arrogance and colonialist hypocrisy. "The people of Haiti have had no immediate contact with a superior cultivation and intelligence such as the negroes of the United States have had. . . ." wrote the administrative commander of the occupation in 1921. "They are real n----- and make no mistake—there are some very fine looking, well polished men here but they are real n----- beneath the surface," wrote the head of the occupation in 1916. In private the Americans often expressed scorn for the Haitian elite, whom they considered "uppity," and spoke of the af-

fection they felt for the Haitian peasantry. At the same time, though, they described the peasantry as having "semi-ape's brains" and dismissed the religion, art and whole culture of the Haitian people as silly and uncivilized.

Uprising ends occupation

Finally in 1929, pent-up resentment against the occupation again broke out. The world depression had sent coffee prices plunging and Haitian government revenues dropped dramatically. The education budget was cut and in October (elite) students at an agricultural school walked out. The protests of the students were soon engulfed by broader, more popular demonstrations. Strikes in all the major towns denounced the U.S. and peasants began protesting new taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

U.S. Marine strength was low because troops had been transferred to Nicaragua to fight followers of Sandino and a panicky commander wired Washington that: "Loyalty of the Garde now very questionable. . . . It is therefore requested that strength of the brigade be immediately increased by 500."

On December 6, outside Cayes, 1,500 peasants armed with stones, machetes and clubs

surrounded a detachment of 20 newly arrived Marines armed with automatics. The Marines fired 600 rounds, killing 12 and wounding 13.

The killings and a U.S. Navy show of force ended the 1929 uprising, but the uprising also ended the U.S. occupation. Convinced that they could never create the strong pro-U.S. government of their dreams, and unwilling to keep the Marines in Haiti forever, the U.S. cut bait. Within three months, the U.S. announced it was getting out.

By October 1930 a new Haitian government had been put together, one that openly opposed the occupation but did not oppose U.S. domination of the region. By 1931 direct U.S. control of the government departments was ended. By 1932, a new constitution was passed and on August 14, 1934, the last U.S. troops were withdrawn.

In many ways life for most Haitians was just the same during and after the occupation as it was before. They still had their land and their freedom in the sense that no one told them what to do on a day-to-day basis. But the detente between the peasants and the ruling class was over. The state that the U.S. left behind in 1934 was stronger than any Haitian state in 100 years. And it was directly beholden to an imperialist power for its existence.

[Next part: the regimes of "Papa Doc" Duvalier and his son, Jean-Claude.]

Beauty Contests Are Racist and Sexist

Below we are reprinting an article by Patsy Christie in the September 27-October 26, 1982, issue of the *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, sister organization of the RSL.

Over the years the capitalist class, through their various organizations and their state, have organized what they call "beauty" contests. These spectacles bring together mainly middle class and upper class women to compete among themselves and to be used as sex

DESPITE what the organizers of these contests would have us believe, these events only serve to reinforce the sexist, racist and dog-eat-dog ideas and models that dominate the capitalist society in which we live. Thus the young women who enter these contests are like crabs in a barrel or cattle at Denbigh who are vying to be adjudged the most beautiful girl in the contest and, supposedly, all of Jamaica. To this end, like slaves at the slave auctions of old, they have to endure the appraisal, comments and sometimes boos of

the many men in the audience. And be judged by a panel of 16 men and six women judges. All in the hope of being accepted as a beauty.

Beauty here is not concerned with such human qualities as intelligence, industriousness, courage, determination, kindness, cooperativeness or initiative. It involves almost purely physical qualities such as

racist outlook (white Anglo-Saxon [European] is good/beautiful; Black/African is bad/ugly) is so deeply imbedded in the Jamaican and the whole beauty contest scene that there are many who feel that Jacqueline Breakspere, who has a slimmer "more European" figure, should have won Miss Jamaica World '82 in front of Cornelia Parchment, who

seen in the way various capitalist businesses "sponsor" the various contestants whom they then exploit through modeling, public appearances and advertisements, in order to sell their products. Through this, they make tremendous profits in addition to the profits which they make out of the contest shows themselves.

THE two or three women who are chosen winners in the beauty contests may make some amount of money in the capitalist marketing process. However, they do so on the basis of being used as sex objects at the expense of their own worth and dignity. If you don't believe this check the Gordon's Gin TV ad. In this ad a sister in a bathsuit is being used to sell gin. According to the ad "John Breeze" (the white expatriate distilling expert) "not only has great taste in gin but after work he has great taste too." In other words, the girl in the bathing suit is just as much a commodity for John Breeze's pleasure as the bottle of Gordon's Gin. Our TV screens carry several such sexist ads featuring beauty queens and beauty contestants.

The truth is that under capitalism beauty is truly "only skin

deep" and even then only if it serves the profit motives of capitalism. In these stakes the ordinary working woman with her plain face, work-hardened hands, body fattened by continual child-bearing and who is unable to afford the beauty aids in jars and the fancy health studios, doesn't feature. People—men and women—should look after their bodies and their minds and should try to be in the best mental and physical shape of which they are capable. But not in the competitive, racist, sexist style of capitalist beauty contests.

WHAT we need is not beauty contests but a struggle for more and better education, jobs, recreational, social welfare and children's services; and maternity/abortion and other rights for women. Instead of beauty contests, women must demand cultural and other programs that build up women's unity, self-confidence and self-image. Programs like the women's theater cooperative Sistren. Working women and men, conscious women and men, must build a struggle for these things and never stop fighting until we achieve them to a fullness under socialism. □



"best" smile, walk, legs, figure, etc.

MOREOVER, the standard of physical beauty involved in these contests is European-oriented. So, through the years very few Black women, particularly those with low, natural hair, have ever won the local beauty contest. Yet the Jamaican population is overwhelmingly of African descent. In fact the

though "prettier facially" was somewhat on the "plump" side. Of course many of these persons favored Breakspere because the prime aim of the local contest is the European-dominated Miss World Contest in England. It is here that the racism of the present beauty contests reaches its heights.

The capitalist character of these contests can be plainly

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What Is the U.S. Up to in Central America?

(Continued from page 1)
strategy for Nicaragua.

In El Salvador, meanwhile, a military and political deadlock continues. The rebels remain strong and, in a three-week October offensive, consolidated their control over large parts of three northern provinces—Chalatenango, San Miguel and Morazán. Only days after Salvadorean Defense Minister José Guillermo García declared that the rebels were in their "death throes," successful attacks were launched in seven provinces and the capital city of San Salvador. Twenty small towns were seized by the rebels and held for several days. One hundred and nineteen government soldiers were captured, along with 250 guns and 80,000 cartridges. Guerrilla actions paralyzed transportation throughout the country and left 40 percent of the nation without electric power for two weeks. Trains, buses, crop-dusting planes, and the country's only oil refinery were attacked by the rebels as part of their strategy of economic sabotage.

WITH \$230 million worth of U.S. aid, modern equipment, 50 U.S. military advisers, and 3,500 U.S.-trained special troops, the Salvadorean military can still do no more than hold onto the cities and a small portion of the countryside along the coast. The army itself admits that in the past year it has lost over 1,000 dead and 2,500 wounded, while rebel losses have been 600-700 dead and an unknown number wounded.

Yet despite its persistent strength and growing ability to coordinate attacks on a national scale, the rebel coalition, the Frente Democrático Revolucionario-Frente Farabundo Martí para Liberación Nacional (FDR-FMLN), is far from winning a decisive military victory. In recent months, it has taken serious losses from among its leadership core. In August, Honduran forces captured six Salvadorean guerrilla leaders in the Honduran capital, including a top FMLN commander, Alejandro Montenegro. The six were apparently handed over to the Salvadorean government. At about the same time, Saul Villalta, a

leader of the FDR, was caught inside El Salvador. All have since disappeared from sight and may be dead.

Nineteen more pro-FDR activists, including almost the entire remaining leadership of the FDR inside the country, were seized by a right-wing army faction in separate raids in mid-October—a move reminiscent of the 1980 kidnapping and murder of over 20 FDR leaders. One week later the Salvadorean Defense Minister announced that eight of the 19 were being held under the state of siege law, charged with conspiracy

and sabotage. The fate of the other 11 is unknown.



Salvadorean troops on parade. Deadlock in Salvadorean civil war is forcing increased diplomatic maneuvers for negotiated settlement.

and sabotage. The fate of the other 11 is unknown.

U.S. officials, who have been trying to strike a more conciliatory note toward the Salvadorean rebels, were not pleased by the latest arrests. Current U.S. strategy aims to split the FDR-FMLN coalition and draw some of the more moderate leftists into a 1984 election campaign while redefining the rebel armed forces as mere "rural bandits." This strategy requires building up the more moderate forces in the Salvadorean government and weakening the right-wing factions, led by Roberto D'Aubuisson. The mass arrests ap-

peared to be part of a rightist counter-strategy to eliminate all remaining moderate pro-FDR leaders inside El Salvador and thus cut off any attempt at dialogue between the U.S.-backed regime and the rebels.

U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton, who at first assured reporters that this "regrettable incident" had not been done under Salvadorean government orders, was seriously embarrassed when the army later admitted holding the eight. "This just won't do," sputtered another U.S. official. "We're not living

in the era of the Spanish Inquisition." And U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle promptly caught a plane to San Salvador to scold his puppets.

The Reagan administration is now quite worried about winning congressional approval of more aid to the Salvadorean regime. Under current restrictions for on-going aid, the administration must certify every six months that progress is being made in improving El Salvador's human rights situation. These latest arrests throw the next certification, due in late January, in doubt. Another factor is the recent failure of two Salvadorean judges to take action

against an influential army officer linked to the killing of two American officials in 1981. Plus the spiraling number of deaths and disappearances at the hands of the government's Treasury Police. Thirty-eight thousand people have died in El Salvador's three-year civil war, 80 percent of them civilians killed by rightist thugs.

All this lies behind Ambassador Hinton's sharp warning to a group of Salvadorean businessmen on October 29 that U.S. aid might be halted unless the worst of the atrocities end. The U.S.

must regain the upper hand in Central America if its strategy is to work. That means weakening the Sandinistas, curbing the far right in El Salvador, and driving a wedge between the FDR and the FMLN. Can it work? In the short run, possibly.

THE relatively weakened economic and diplomatic bargaining power of such key regional states as Mexico and Venezuela makes it easier for the U.S. and its puppets to ignore their peace proposals. Honduras recently thumbed its nose at a Mexican offer of mediation in the Nicaraguan border conflict. Nicaragua, already shaky from natural catastrophes, a dependent economy, and a huge debt, may be forced into significant concessions through the U.S.'s dirty war tactics on its border.

In El Salvador, Army General García holds most of the real power and he knows very well that there is no future without U.S. aid. He is not loyal to the ultra-right factions and may be convinced to curb them enough to satisfy the U.S. Embassy. Enough to satisfy the new U.S. Congress is another matter, but something can probably be arranged. While an FDR-FMLN split is less likely in the short run, there are many sharp disagreements among the rebel forces and a process of dialogue, leading toward negotiations—which the U.S. now seems to favor—could sharpen internal divisions among the left.

But all this is not to say that U.S. imperialism has already won. Far from it. The Nicaraguan people will never accept the return of a Somoza-style regime. And the Salvadorean rebels remain armed and strong in their northern base areas. The Guatemalan civil war rages, and an armed Honduran left has recently emerged. The U.S. may hold a short-term advantage, but the last word has not yet been said. □

Pan Am Refuses INS Death Flights

Pan American World Airways announced October 1 that it wants no part of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) deportation death flights of Salvadorean refugees. This followed a similar announcement by Western Airlines in September. Western gave up the flights under pressure of a nine-month national refugee defense campaign. The Revolutionary Socialist League has been active in this work through its participation in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Following the Western victory, solidarity movement activists began preparing a new campaign against whatever airline might try to pick up the INS's bloody business. Several reports, including one from an INS source, pointed toward Pan Am. But the October 1 announcement by

Pan Am's senior vice president, Stephen Wolf, left no room for doubt.

According to Wolf: "...Pan Am's position concerning the deportation of these refugees is the same as that of Western Airlines as I understand it, namely we will only carry passengers bound to or from El Salvador if they are traveling on a valid passport. As a result, we have informed U.S. Immigration that we cannot participate in deporting Salvadorean refugees.... [We] frequently refuse to carry passengers where to do so would involve exposing these innocent passengers to volatile political situations where their safety cannot be assured and where they might be innocent victims of political extremists...."

"We consider the current situation in El Salvador to be of this

nature and have so advised INS.... With Western's withdrawal, we were probably the next in line. In any event, our policy is known and understood by INS and we are not carrying the Salvadorean deportees...."

Letters have now been sent to eight other U.S. and Mexican airlines that could, under present route schedules, be asked by the INS to carry the deportees. The airlines are being informed of the Western and Pan Am decisions and are being asked to adopt a similar policy.

In a recent, ominous development, the small Salvadorean airline, Taca, has just opened offices in Los Angeles for the first time. Coincidence? Perhaps, but we'll be watching closely to see whether the INS is preparing yet another option for its death flights.

By ROD

This is the fifth currently taking place. Fourth International ground of that fight.

In our last article formations in Eastern fronted the Fourth International dilemma. On the since the Eastern European Russia (which the F were workers' state capitalism could be tions, a major revision outlook. On the other Eastern Europe remained nationalizations of the forced to reconsider larly his view that t even though it was r workers.

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DISPUTE IN UNITED SECRETARIAT REVEALS CRISIS

OF TROTSKYIST THEORY — Part Five

The Fourth International and the Theory of "Deformed Workers' States"

By ROD MILLER and RON TABER

This is the fifth article in our series on the faction fight currently taking place within the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and on the theoretical/historical background of that fight.

In our last article, we discussed how the Stalinist transformations in Eastern Europe following World War II confronted the Fourth International with a fundamental theoretical dilemma. On the one hand, the FI could conclude that since the Eastern European countries increasingly resembled Russia (which the FI considered a workers' state), they too were workers' states. But this would mean deciding that capitalism could be overthrown without proletarian revolutions, a major revision of the FI's most basic political outlook. On the other hand, the FI could conclude that Eastern Europe remained capitalist, despite the extensive nationalizations of their economies. But it would then be forced to reconsider Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism, particularly his view that the Russian state remained proletarian even though it was no longer controlled in any way by the workers.

Our article last month noted that Trotsky's position rested largely on the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy maintained the state-owned property established by the Russian Revolution. "Through these property relations," he had written in 1936, "... the nature of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state is for us basically defined." (*The Revolution Betrayed*, Merit Publishers, 1965, p. 248.) This view opened the door to the notion that any state marked by similar "property relations" (nationalized property, centralized planning, etc.) was also a workers' state—even if it had not been brought about by a workers' insurrection.

As long as no such states existed, of course, this implication was not necessarily apparent, at least not to the Trotskyists. But the events in Eastern Europe, where Russian-like states were created without proletarian revolutions, brought the contradiction to the surface. How the FI dealt with this contradiction is the subject of this article.



The question of the class character of Eastern Europe was to plague the Fourth International throughout the 1948-51 period. As we saw last month, the FI's Second World Congress, held in April 1948, had resolved that the Eastern European states were still capitalist, a position based largely on the assumption that the Russian-backed regimes would preserve the existing pluralistic capitalist economies. But by late 1948, the Eastern European economies had been almost entirely nationalized, forcing the FI to re-examine its position.

Thus at the Seventh Plenum of the FI's International Executive Committee (IEC), held in April 1949, the main resolution, written by Ernest Mandel, again addressed the question of Eastern Europe. Holding to the position he had defended at the Second Congress a year earlier, Mandel argued that the Eastern European countries were still basically capitalist societies, although in a qualified sense. To back up this view, Mandel listed the differences between Russia and the Eastern European states and concluded that the latter were not yet enough like Russia to be called workers' states.

However, the real significance of Mandel's resolution lay in its suggestion that the countries of Eastern Europe were on the road to becoming workers' states. All the necessary conditions, argued Mandel, "can be reduced to one factor: The achievement of effective coordination and planning applied to the combined economies of these countries linked organically to the economy of the USSR." Mandel referred to this linkage as the "structural assimilation" of the Eastern European economies into that of Russia. Though he argued that this process was not yet complete, Mandel characterized the Eastern European states as "capitalist countries on the road toward structural assim-

ilation." ("The Evolution of the Buffer Countries," Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the IEC, SWP *International Information Bulletin*, June 1949. This resolution and many of the documents and resolutions subsequently cited in this article can be found in the SWP's *Education for Socialists* series.)

Mandel's resolution went on to admit that the process underway in Eastern Europe was not the result of any action on the part of the workers, whom the FI had previously considered the necessary agents of social change: "The transition between capitalism and Soviet society has not resulted from a proletarian revolution, but from a military-political overturn which eliminated the big bourgeoisie and the bulk of the middle bourgeoisie."

Thus, while still formally calling the Eastern European countries capitalist, Mandel argued that they could cease to



be so and could become workers' states simply through a "military-political overturn" without any participation whatsoever by the working class.

Mandel's resolution was adopted overwhelmingly by the IEC. Soon after the plenum, however, two younger leaders of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, Joseph Hansen and Bert Cochran (writing under the pseudonym E.R. Frank) argued that the Mandel resolution had not gone far enough. All the countries of Eastern Europe, they said, had been workers' states since the crushing of the old bourgeoisie and the nationalizations of the 1946-48 period. These had represented the "real destruction of capitalism" throughout the region.

In an internal document written in December 1949 Hansen stated that "the crux of the whole discussion... [is] what criteria do we use in distinguishing a workers state from a capitalist state? ... In my opinion, in a country where the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class has been broken AND the principal sectors of the economy nationalized we must place the state in the general category of 'workers state' no matter how widely or monstrously it departs from our norms." (Joseph Hansen, "The Problems of Eastern Europe," SWP *Internal Bulletin*, February 1950.)

Hansen and Cochran did try, however, to square this thesis with the FI's traditional view that the workers had to play at least some role in the overthrow of capitalism. They argued that throughout Eastern Europe, the workers had actually smashed the old bourgeois state through "civil war" and, therefore, that successful proletarian revolutions had indeed taken place throughout the region. The reason that no one but Hansen and Cochran could tell that such revolutions had occurred was that the Stalinists had—to use their term—"mutilated" them beyond recognition.

By lumping together the workers' revolts of 1944-45 (which were defeated) with the Stalinist economic takeovers of 1946-48, Hansen and Cochran were able to claim that the

eventual nationalizations had come about as a result of "a social revolution started by the masses... and deformed by the political counterrevolution conducted by the Kremlin." This enabled them to attack Mandel, ostensibly from the left, for suggesting that a peaceful evolution from capitalism to socialism was possible.

Neither Mandel's analysis nor Hansen-Cochran's was to become the Fourth International's definitive position on Eastern Europe. As long as the FI believed that state property was the cornerstone of the "workers' state" in Russia (an idea Mandel, Hansen and Cochran all held in common), Mandel's attempts to show that Eastern Europe was capitalist because it was not (yet) "identical" to Russia could only seem like hair-splitting. At least Mandel tried to look reality in the face, however, unlike Hansen and Cochran, whose insistence that the Stalinist transformation of the Eastern European states had been the result of revolutionary, working class mobilizations was little more than a rewriting of history to fit their own conclusions. As we shall see, the position that eventually won out in the FI combined aspects of both Mandel and Hansen-Cochran's initial positions.

EMERGENCE OF PABLOISM

The new, synthetic, viewpoint was put forward by the Secretary of the Fourth International, Michel Pablo, in preparation for the FI's 1951 Third World Congress. After the 1949 Seventh Plenum of the IEC, Pablo had been won over to the view that all the countries of Eastern Europe were workers' states. At the Eighth Plenum, held in April 1950, the IEC formally adopted the view that Yugoslavia was a workers' state.* At its Ninth Plenum, which met the following November, this position was extended to Eastern

*The FI's disorientation in this period was well-demonstrated in its attitude toward Yugoslavia, where a political break between Marshal Tito and Stalin had taken place in 1948.

Unlike most of the other Eastern European countries, Yugoslavia had been liberated from Nazi rule not by the Russian army, but by partisans led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). When they came to power in 1944, the Yugoslav Communists tried at first to maintain a bloc with the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie through a coalition government. This broke down in October 1945 and, from that point on, the government headed by Tito was basically a one-party, Stalinist regime. Tito's government nationalized industry, banking and commerce in December 1946, and launched a Five-Year Plan at the beginning of 1947.

During this whole period, Yugoslavia appeared to be an unswerving ally of Russia. Nevertheless, behind the scenes, Stalin was maneuvering to bring the CPY and the Yugoslav government under direct Russian domination and to gain control of Yugoslavia's industry and natural resources through Russian-controlled companies. Tito and his supporters resisted these moves. In April 1948, the Tito regime rejected a series of Russian demands and charges, and by June the Tito-Stalin conflict had become an open break.

When the break took place, the leaders of the Fourth International, without so much as commenting on the position adopted barely two months earlier at the Second Congress that Yugoslavia remained capitalist, sent an "Open Letter" to the CPY which saluted the "Yugoslavian Socialist Revolution" and spoke of the "promise in your resistance—the promise of resistance by a victorious workers' party." ("Open Letter" to Communist Party of Yugoslavia, July 1, 1948, *Militant*, July 26, 1948, p. 3.)

For two years, the world Trotskyist press heaped lavish praise on Tito and the CPY. The leaders of the FI hailed Yugoslavia's role in the struggle for socialism and went so far as to suggest that Tito might join the Fourth International. This stance was maintained until 1950, when Yugoslavia cast its vote in the United Nations in favor of the U.S.-sponsored "police action" in Korea. Tito's open support for U.S. imperialism was, needless to say, highly embarrassing for the FI leadership and it quickly broke off all contact with the CPY and resumed its criticisms of the Tito regime.

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Europe as a whole.

Pablo elaborated the IEC's new position in a series of documents submitted as part of the FI's pre-Congress debate. His main political resolution for the Congress defined the countries of Eastern Europe as "deformed" workers' states. (This term was used to differentiate the states that had never had workers' revolutions from Russia, which had, and which the FI called a "degenerated workers' state.") A separate resolution on Eastern Europe defined the basis for the new position:

"... By virtue of their economic base, of the structure essentially common to all the countries of the buffer zone, characterized by new production and property relations proper to a stratified and planned economy, essentially like those of the USSR... we have to consider these states as now being deformed workers' states." ("Draft Resolution on the Class Character of the European Countries in the Soviet Buffer Zone," SWP International Information Bulletin, July 1951.)

The same resolution affirmed that deformed workers' states could be created without the revolutionary action of the proletariat:

"These states have arisen not through the revolutionary action of the masses but through the military-bureaucratic action of the Soviet bureaucracy... It has turned out that the revolutionary action of the masses is not an indispensable condition needed by the bureaucracy to be able to destroy capitalism under exceptional and analogous conditions and in an international atmosphere like that of the 'cold war.'"

Having ascribed to the Stalinist bureaucracy a revolutionary role in creating workers' states in Eastern Europe, Pablo went on to argue that Stalinist forces and parties around the world, previously considered obstacles to revolution by the FI, could successfully lead mass movements in the overthrow of capitalism:

"... to the degree that [the Stalinist parties] are tied to a real revolutionary movement of the masses, they are subject to its pressure, and may, under certain favorable conditions... outline a revolutionary orientation." ("Theses on the International Perspectives and the Orientation of the Fourth International," International Information Bulletin, January 1951, p. 5.)

Pablo's practical recommendations were consistent with his analysis of Stalinism. His resolution called for "entry" into the Stalinist parties (and, to a lesser degree, social-democratic parties). On the surface, this proposal was reminiscent of the "French turn" of the 1930s in which Trotskyists had joined social-democratic parties to build revolutionary factions within them and leave with enlarged forces. In reality, however, Pablo was advocating nothing less than the near-liquidation of the Trotskyist movement. This was made clear in a document he wrote following the Congress:

"We are not entering [the Stalinist and social democratic parties] in order to come out of them soon. We are entering them in order to remain there for a long time, banking on the great possibility which exists of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses and of the objective revolutionary processes in their respective countries."

Moreover, the Trotskyists should not work to build revolutionary factions in these parties, but should "help in the development of their centrist tendencies and to give it leadership." ("The Building of the Revolutionary Party," excerpts from Pablo's report to IEC Plenum, February 1952, International Information Bulletin, June 1952, p. 11.)

In a series of documents that formed part of the FI's pre-Congress deliberations but were presented for discussion only, Pablo elaborated more fully and openly his political analyses and perspectives. Space limitations allow us to state only briefly the key ideas in these documents.

Pablo's underlying view was that a "new reality" had come into being, one "essentially different from everything we have known in the past." He declared, "the overwhelming majority of forces opposing capitalism are right now to be found under the leadership or influence of the Soviet bureaucracy." Therefore, "objective social reality" could be boiled down to a struggle between "the capitalist regime and the Stalinist world."

Pablo argued that this struggle would soon lead to a third world war, a war that would take on the character of an "international civil war," or, as he also put it, a "War-Revolution." The victory of the "Stalinist world" would not, however, result in societies in which the workers and other oppressed people actually ruled. Instead, "the transformation of capitalism into socialism will actually take an entire historical epoch, filled with bureaucratically deformed transitional regimes." These regimes, according to Pablo, would most likely exist for "an entire historical period extending over a few centuries." (Michel Pablo, "Where Are We Going?," International Information Bulletin, March 1951, and "On the Duration and Nature of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," International Information Bulletin, July 1951.)

In essence Pablo was saying that socialism was no longer on the agenda. Instead, the International had to look

for progressive social change in the formation of "bureaucratically deformed transitional regimes" that, in all likelihood, would last for "a few centuries." While this view was not put up for a vote at the Congress, it is important to understand that it was the theoretical underpinning of every decision the International was to make at the Third World Congress.

OPPOSITION TO PABLO

Pablo's perspectives did not go unopposed within the International. Two currents were particularly significant: one that attempted to defend "Trotskyist orthodoxy" from what it saw as Pablo's revisionism, and one that understood that the contradiction in the movement's attitude toward Stalinism could only be resolved through a re-examination of Trotsky's analysis of the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The orthodox opposition to Pablo came from Ernest Mandel, representing the majority of the FI's French section, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI), and John G. Wright, who spoke for the majority of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

As we saw earlier, Mandel's original position had been that the Eastern European countries remained capitalist in the traditional sense. After about mid-1949, however, he could no longer ignore the fact that nearly all property in these countries had been nationalized. Mandel then began to develop the idea that in "transitional cases," nationalized property could exist without the state that owned this property being a workers' state. In such cases, he wrote in 1950: "... The property relations can be overturned without the economy thereby automatically becoming an economy orienting away from capitalism toward socialism, and without permitting us to conclude that what we have is a workers' state..." (Ernest Germain [Mandel], "The Yugoslav Question, the Question of the Buffer Zone, and Their Implication for Marxist Theory.")

For his part, Wright put forward a series of subsidiary arguments against considering the Eastern European countries to be workers' states. Wright argued that Russia's economic relationship to the region was basically imperialist: "They [the Stalinists] have exploited the masses and economies of Eastern Europe in a way which differs in degree but not in substance from the imperialist brigands."

He added that the Russian Stalinists acted in Eastern Europe "as an AGENCY of imperialism not only by propping up capitalism but by actually running the economies of Eastern Europe on a capitalist basis for the benefit of native and foreign capitalists and for their own benefit as well." (John G. Wright, "The Importance of Method in the Discussion of the Kremlin-Dominated Buffer Zone," SWP Discussion Bulletin, No. 2, April 1950, pp. 4, 5.)

But these basically correct arguments brought Mandel and Wright face to face with their position that Russia was a workers' state. For if the Eastern European countries, state property and all, were some form of capitalism, then how could the existence of state property in Russia be the decisive proof that Russia was not capitalist? Because their thinking never went beyond the limits of "Trotskyist orthodoxy," however, Mandel and Wright refused to even consider that Russia was anything but a workers' state. Inevitably, therefore, as their opponents hammered away at the fact that Eastern Europe looked just like Russia, Mandel and Wright's attempt to draw a line between the two fell apart. As a result, in the months before the Third World Congress, Mandel and Wright's opposition crumbled and they accepted the idea that the Eastern European countries were "deformed workers' states." Going further, they endorsed all the broader political conclusions of Pablo's resolutions, including the possibly revolutionary role of the Stalinist parties and the revolutionary character of World War III.

In addition to this orthodox opposition, there were several groups within the International that argued that Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe were state-capitalist societies. The two most prominent of these tendencies were the Johnson-Forest Tendency (led by C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, who used the party names J.R. Johnson and F. Forest) in the SWP and a minority grouping in the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Britain, led by Tony Cliff.

Using the same starting point that Marx used in Capital, James and Dunayevskaya examined the capital-labor relationship in the process of production, contending that this relationship was fundamentally the same in Russia as under Western capitalism. They showed that the Russian workers, lacking any control of the state, had no control over the means of production. They were therefore a propertyless proletariat, like the workers in traditional capitalist countries. They were forced to sell their labor-power (i.e., their ability to work) in return for wages while the Stalinist bureaucracy appropriated the surplus produced in the process of production. The workers—"labor"—argued James and Dunayevskaya, are dominated by the means of



Natalia Sedova Trotsky (left) and Raya Dunayevskaya both opposed definition of Eastern European countries as "deformed workers' states" that was eventually adopted by Ernest Mandel and other leaders of the Fourth International.

production—"capital." For James and Dunayevskaya, this meant the capital-labor relationship existed in Russia and defined its social system. However, capital in Russia was more or less completely centralized in the hands of the state; the system in Russia (and Eastern Europe) was therefore state capitalism.

James and Dunayevskaya also asserted that since the labor-power in Russia was a commodity sold at its value (i.e., the cost of reproducing that labor-power), the law of value and all other laws of motion of capitalism pervaded and dominated the Russian economy. Dunayevskaya wrote:

"As long as planning is governed by the necessity to pay the laborer the minimum necessary for his existence and to extract from him the maximum surplus value in order to maintain the productive system as far as possible within the lawless laws of the world market, governed by the law of value, that is how long capitalist relations of production exist, no matter what you name the social order..." (Raya Dunayevskaya, Russia as State-Capitalist Society, News and Letters Committees, 1973, p. 24.)

The state-capitalist tendency in the British RCP also based itself on the notion that the capital-labor relation continued to prevail in Russia. Like James and Dunayevskaya, Cliff argued that the workers in Russia were exploited fundamentally in the same manner as workers in traditional capitalist societies. From this starting point, Cliff took on Pablo's ideas in a sound manner:

"[According to Pablo] it is enough for the bureaucracy to be able to expropriate the bourgeoisie while keeping the workers 'in their place' for the transition from capitalism to a workers' state to be accomplished... The essence of the proletarian revolution becomes the change in the form of property, whether after the change the workers are oppressed and exploited or not; whether they are the subject running the economy or an object... whether through the masses acting under the leadership of a revolutionary party or through a military-police bureaucracy isolated and hated by the workers..." (Tony Cliff, On the Class Nature of the "People's Democracies," reprinted in The Fourth International, Stalinism and the Origins of the International Socialists, Pluto Press, 1971, p. 43.)

Cliff also skillfully exposed the flaws in Mandel and Wright's opposition to Pablo:

"No scholastic argument will succeed in convincing anyone that the 'People's Democracies' with state ownership, a monopoly of foreign trade, planned economy, the increasing collectivization of agriculture, are capitalist countries, while Russia, the motive force behind the development of all these traits in the 'People's Democracies,' is a workers' state. In time the position of Germain and John G. Wright will become less and less tenable, and its main danger is not so much in itself... but that by preventing people from thinking it out to its logical conclusion, it can drive them to the other alternative, namely that if Russia is a workers' state, then the 'People's Democracies' are also workers' states." (On the Class Nature of the "People's Democracies," pp. 22-23.)

Despite the cogency of James/Dunayevskaya and Cliff's arguments, their ideas did not get much of a hearing in the Fourth International. There were several reasons for

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this. First, Trotsky's frequent polemics against the view that the Stalinist bureaucracy had become a ruling class, that the October Revolution had been totally reversed, and that Russia had become some form of a class society, had conditioned many in the Trotskyist movement to rule out of hand a state-capitalist analysis. In addition, a rightward-moving faction in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, led by Max Shachtman, James Burnham and Martin Abern, had used its disagreements with Trotsky's theory of Stalinism as an excuse to break from the International in 1940, taking nearly half of the SWP with it. Since some of the leading figures in this tendency considered Russia to be a new form of class society, any notion that Russia was not a workers' state was, unfortunately, associated with anti-Leninism and treason to the International. All this was further intensified by the fact that James and Dunayevskaya, at the time of the Eastern European discussions in the FI, were in the process of rejecting the need for a Leninist revolutionary party. For these and other reasons, the idea that Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe were state-capitalist societies did not make much headway in the International (with the exception of the British section) and Cliff, James, Dunayevskaya and their respective supporters resigned from the FI during the course of the debate on Eastern Europe.

DECISIONS OF THIRD WORLD CONGRESS

The Third World Congress took place in France in late August and early September 1951. Since the major oppositions to Pablo had either collapsed or resigned from the International prior to the Congress, the outcome of the meeting was largely a foregone conclusion. The two main resolutions before the Congress, "Theses on Orientation and Perspectives" and the "Class Nature of Eastern Europe," included most of Pablo's main ideas. The resolutions concluded that deformed workers' states could be created by Stalinist parties or armies, without proletarian revolutions or even "revolutionary mobilizations of the masses." They predicted that this would, in all probability, occur on an international scale as a result of World War III, which they thought was possibly imminent. And they saw such a development as a form of progressive, revolutionary change.

On the other hand, the final resolutions omitted Pablo's more extreme notions, such as "centuries of deformed workers' states." And while the Congress approved the call for entry work in the Stalinist and social-democratic parties, even Pablo had not yet openly raised the idea of entering them on a long-term basis.

At the Congress itself, opposition to Pablo's line was minimal. A majority tendency within the French section, the PCI, put forward a series of amendments to the "Theses on Orientation and Perspectives" that qualified some of the resolution's formulations on the "revolutionary orienta-

tion" of the Stalinists and the supposedly revolutionary character of a possible third world war, among others. All the amendments were defeated. When the document came to a vote, only the PCI and a minority tendency of the Vietnamese section voted no, while the Swiss delegation abstained. The latter submitted a statement explaining that Pablo's line "condemns the International to being only a mere left opposition to the Stalinist parties," while the Vietnamese minority announced it would "vote against all political resolutions of the International Secretariat because of their confused and contradictory character and their tendency to subordinate Trotskyism to Stalinism." On the resolution on Eastern Europe, the PCI majority went over to Pablo's side, voting in favor, while the Swiss delegation and the Vietnamese minority voted against. All other delegations voted for both resolutions. Pablo's perspectives thus became the official doctrine of the International.

The FI's new positions were a significant revision of and qualitative break from the Trotskyist movement's traditional political perspectives. But even more fundamentally they were a de facto repudiation of the most basic tenets of revolutionary Marxism. For Marx—as for Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—capitalism could only be destroyed through proletarian revolutions that smashed the existing state machineries and replaced them with states of a new kind—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Lenin summarized in *The State and Revolution*, written on the eve of the October Revolution in Russia:

"Revolution consists in the proletariat destroying the 'administrative apparatus' and the whole state machine, replacing it with a new one, made up of the armed workers."

"Marx's theory of 'the state, i.e., the proletariat organized as the ruling class,' is inseparably bound up with the whole of his doctrine of the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship, the political rule of the proletariat." (*The State and Revolution*, Selected Works, V. 2, Progress Publishers, 1970, pp. 371, 305.)

In contrast, the International now believed that working class revolutions were not necessary to destroy capitalism; capitalism could be overthrown, and workers' states created, by non-proletarian forces. Nor was it necessary for the old capitalist state machinery to be smashed. According to the FI, a bureaucratic rearrangement of the old state apparatus, carried out from above, was all that was required. Finally, in direct opposition to Marx's view that the transition from capitalism to socialism would be the dictatorship of the proletariat—the armed political rule of the workers themselves—the FI had now decided that the transition could be (and most likely would be) states where the workers were deprived of any political control or power whatsoever. Such states were nevertheless "workers' states" simply because they rested on a particular (abstract) form of property.

Although this new perspective had its roots in Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism, it was by no means a simple, unilinear extension of Trotsky's politics. What the FI did was to grasp one aspect of the contradiction in Trotsky's world view and generalize it. As we have seen, Trotsky had said that the continued existence of nationalized property in Russia—where there had been a proletarian revolution—was the criterion for determining that the revolution had not been totally reversed and that a workers' state continued to exist. The post-war leaders of the FI explicitly stated that the mere presence of nationalized property was sufficient to prove the existence of a workers' state even where there had been no workers' revolution.

Trotsky had also stated that insofar as the Stalinist bureaucracy maintained the nationalized property as a means to defend its own position, it served as an instrument of what he considered to be the proletarian dictatorship, while being ultimately counter-revolutionary both in Russia and internationally. The FI leaders decided that insofar as the Stalinist bureaucracy worked to create nationalized property elsewhere, it was basically revolutionary.

But however much the FI's conclusions may have seemed justified by various things Trotsky said and wrote, its new perspectives constituted a near-total rejection of the aspect of Trotsky's outlook that emphasized socialism as the self-emancipation of the working class. It ignored the side of Trotsky that stressed that the struggle for socialism was—and could only be—the class movement of the proletariat, that insisted that socialist revolutions could only be carried out and proletarian dictatorships established by a class-conscious working class.

The new perspective also implied a liquidation of the revolutionary International that Trotsky had devoted the entire latter part of his life to building. For if Stalinist, non-revolutionary and non-proletarian forces could create workers' states, then revolutionary parties were certainly not required. Nor was it essential to try to instill socialist consciousness among the workers and to make clear to them the pro-capitalist role of the Stalinists and other bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces. To the contrary, all that was necessary was to help the latter set up supposedly progres-

sive "deformed workers' states" in whatever way they might do so.

END OF AN ERA

Taken together, the new positions represented an alteration of the very goal the FI would be fighting for. By deciding that workers' states had been created in Eastern Europe, apart from and even against the desires of the workers there, the FI was taking as its models for progressive social change societies in which the workers were every bit as exploited and alienated as workers in traditional capitalist countries. And although the FI leadership continued to assert that its aim was actual proletarian revolutions, more and more its focus became support for purely structural changes in the form of property, i.e., nationalized property and (ostensibly) centralized planning. Or, to put it another way, whatever the subjective desires of individual Trotskyist militants for a free, socialist society, the program of their movement now called for what we would argue is state capitalism.

This is not to say that the FI's contradictory attitude toward Stalinism was resolved. It was not; and this fact has plagued the Trotskyist movement for the past 30 years. Trotsky's legacy of anti-Stalinism was too strong to be rooted out entirely; as long as the International considered itself Trotskyist, it was bound to retain some degree of anti-Stalinism.

Thus, the FI continued to call the Stalinist regimes "degenerated" or "deformed" workers' states because they were not actually controlled by the workers. It continued to advocate that the workers struggle to kick out the bureaucracy, to carry out "political revolutions" to establish their own direct rule. And it continued to defend, at least in words, Trotsky's view that the Stalinist bureaucracy was counter-revolutionary, however paradoxical this sounded. This included criticizing the Stalinist bureaucracy and Stalinist parties for not trying hard enough to carry out revolutions in other countries, and counterposing Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution to the Stalinist strategy of the two-stage revolution and Socialism in One Country.

But the decisions of the Third World Congress marked the end of an era for the Trotskyist movement. This was perhaps best symbolized by the resignation of Natalia Sedova Trotsky, Trotsky's widow, shortly before the Congress was actually held. In a letter to the Executive Committee of the Fourth International and the Political Committee of the SWP, dated May 9, 1951, she wrote:

"... Virtually every year after the beginning of the fight against the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy, L. D. Trotsky repeated that the regime was moving to the right under conditions of a lagging world revolution and the seizure of all political positions in Russia by the bureaucracy. Time and again, he pointed out how the consolidation of Stalinism in Russia led to the worsening of the economic, political and social positions of the working class, and the triumph of a tyrannical and privileged aristocracy. If this trend continues, he said, the revolution will be at an end and the restoration of capitalism will be achieved.

"That, unfortunately, is what has happened even if in new and unexpected forms. There is hardly a country in the world where the authentic ideas and bearers of socialism are so barbarously hounded. It should be clear to everyone that the revolution has been completely destroyed by Stalinism. Yet you continue to say that under this unspeakable regime, Russia is still a workers' state or with socialism..."

"You now hold that the states of Eastern Europe over which Stalinism established its domination during and after the war, are likewise workers' states. This is equivalent to saying that Stalinism has carried out a revolutionary socialist role. I cannot and will not follow you in this.

"After the war and even before it ended, there was a rising revolutionary movement of the masses in these Eastern countries. But it was not these masses that won power and it was not a workers' state that was established by their struggle. It was the Stalinist counter-revolution that won power, reducing these lands to vassals of the Kremlin by strangling the working masses, their revolutionary struggles and their revolutionary aspirations.

"By considering that the Stalinist bureaucracy established workers' states in these countries, you assign to it a progressive and even revolutionary role. By propagating this monstrous falsehood to the workers' vanguard, you deny to the Fourth International all the basic reason for existence as the world party of the socialist revolution. In the past, we always considered Stalinism to be a counter-revolutionary force in every sense of the term. You no longer do so..."

"I know very well how often you repeat that you are criticizing Stalinism and fighting it. But the fact is that your criticism and your fight lost their value and can yield no results because they are determined by and subordinated to your position of defense of the Stalinist state. Whoever defends this regime of barbarous oppression, regardless of the motives, abandons the principles of socialism and internationalism."

[TO BE CONTINUED]



WHAT WE STAND FOR

Program in Brief of the Revolutionary Socialist League

1 The **REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE** is an organization dedicated to the fight for freedom for all the world's people—freedom from poverty and hunger; from racism and all forms of national, sexual, age and class-related oppression; from privileged rulers and wars—freedom from capitalism.

We believe that this fight is more necessary than ever. Today, the world capitalist system is sliding deeper and deeper into a massive economic, political and social crisis. This crisis is bringing conditions as bad as or worse than the Great Depression of the 1930s. In all countries, the ruling classes are responding to the crisis by bludgeoning down the living standards of the masses of people and curtailing our rights. Unemployment and wage-cutting, cutbacks in social services and a beefing up of the repressive apparatus—the police, military, prisons, etc.—are all part of the capitalist attack. As in the 1930s, the crisis is paving the way for the rise of fascist groups eager to impose their genocidal solution on humanity.

Internationally, the crisis will cause the battles among the different blocs of national capitalists to flare into full-scale wars, as each seeks to defend and increase its power, markets, investment outlets and control of natural resources against the others. Twice already this century the capitalists have fought devastating world wars, in which millions of people died. Now, with the development of huge nuclear arsenals capable of blowing up the planet hundreds of times over, human civilization itself hangs in the balance.

Thus the continued existence of the capitalist system is pushing us closer every day to depression, fascism, world war and possibly total destruction.

2 We in the RSL believe there is an alternative to all this. That alternative lies in the workers, small farmers, peasants, unemployed, national and other oppressed minorities, youth, women, lesbians and gay men—in sum, the downtrodden and persecuted people of every society—uniting together to overthrow our common enemy, the capitalist system, and establish **SOCIALISM**.

This will require a **REVOLUTION** in which the masses of people fight to seize control of the governments, banks, means of transportation and communication, factories, fields, mills and mines. A revolution would also have to smash the capitalists' state apparatus: their police and armed forces, their courts and prisons, their political bodies (legislatures, congresses, parliaments, etc.) and mammoth bureaucracies, and other institutions of capitalist class rule.

While such revolutions are most likely to develop on a national basis, we believe that to be successful they must become worldwide in scope. Capitalism is an international system, with a world economy and a world market. Only through an international socialist revolution can the workers and their allies eliminate all capitalist oppression and have access to the human, natural and technical resources necessary to solve the problems confronting human society.

3 In place of the dictatorship of the capitalists, the RSL believes working and oppressed people can build a cooperative, humane world society. Run by workers' councils and other mass organizations of farmers, housewives, soldiers and specially oppressed groups, the new society would provide the fullest democracy for the vast majority of people, while ruthlessly suppressing the capitalists and those who seek to get ahead by stepping on the backs of others.

Although the destructive legacy of capitalism would be severe, a truly democratic, mass-controlled government could begin to reorganize society to fulfill human needs, not provide a privileged existence for tiny elites. Resources currently thrown into the military, for example, could be used to end hunger, build housing, schools, roads, etc. The workweek could be shortened, creating jobs for millions of unemployed people.

In ways such as these, the inequality and scarcity that lie at the heart of capitalism's dog-eat-dog competitiveness could be eliminated. People would increasingly have no reason to get over on others, and the material basis of classes, the state, racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry would disappear. Increasingly, everyone would have the time and opportunity to develop their full human potential; everyone would become truly **FREE**, able to control their own destinies.

This is our vision of **SOCIALISM**. It will not be easy to achieve. And it is not inevitable—people have to want it and fight for it. But we believe it is the only alternative worth fighting for.

4 Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. What is called socialism in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Albania, Poland, etc., is **state capitalism**, a 20th century variation of traditional, private shareholding capitalism. In the state-capitalist (often called Stalinist) countries, as in the "regular" capitalist nations, a small elite dominates society, making all the decisions and reaping all the benefits. Working and

oppressed people have no more control of the factories and other workplaces, the economy, the government or anything else than do workers in traditional capitalist countries. The state-capitalist ruling class controls the state apparatus and nationalized industry, while the workers are in the position of being wage slaves, chained to a giant capitalist machine.

In these countries—as in all the countries of the world—**REVOLUTION** is the only way to establish real socialism and win freedom for all working and oppressed people.

At a time when the struggle between the world's two main imperialist powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., is being portrayed wrongly as one between capitalism and socialism, democracy and totalitarianism, the RSL believes it is more important than ever to take a clear stand in opposition to capitalism in all its forms and to fight for a revolutionary, libertarian vision of socialism.

5 In the coming period, as the capitalist crisis intensifies, we expect mass movements and mass struggles—both of the right and the left—to break out with increasing frequency around the world. The question is: Will these upheavals lead to fascist dictatorships, state-capitalist transformations, a new world war—or an international socialist revolution that puts all the capitalist garbage behind us?

The RSL believes that the last outcome can be brought to pass only with the active intervention and political leadership of a disciplined international revolutionary working class party. This party, and its sections in countries around the world, is needed to educate and organize workers and other oppressed people about the cause of their misery and the solution to it; to work in different movements and struggles to increase the class-consciousness and militancy of their participants; to combat reformist, social-democratic, state-capitalist, fascist and other leaderships that would derail mass, popular struggles and lead them to certain defeat; and to help unite the different forces oppressed by capitalism into a massive assault on the system.

The existence of revolutionary working class parties does not guarantee victory. But without them, the more-organized and powerful enemies of socialist revolution will surely triumph.

The RSL considers the construction of a revolutionary party in the U.S. and around the world to be our main strategic task. In so doing, we reject any and all elitist notions that have come to be associated with such parties: that the party stands separate from and above the working class; that the party may use any method, no matter how base or dishonest, to gain leadership of the masses in struggle; that its goal is to form a one-party state within a supposedly socialist society. Our goal is a society where human beings can consciously shape their own existence; we see a revolutionary party simply as the vehicle through which this can be made possible.

6 The RSL identifies itself in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, particularly the pioneering theoretical work of Marx and Engels; the conception of the party, the stress on the importance of national liberation struggles and the anti-statism shown in *The State and Revolution* of Lenin; and the fight against Stalinism of Trotsky. But we also identify with the best of anarchism, particularly its libertarian spirit. And we hold in no less regard those leaders throughout the ages who have fought against various forms of exploitation and oppression: from Spartacus to Harriet Tubman, from Emiliano Zapata to Malcolm X.

We believe it is crucial for the left to rid itself of the state-capitalist baggage which it has carried for far too long. To do so requires a careful evaluation of the theoretical underpinnings of the modern left, from Marx to the Russian Revolution to the current day. Only in this way can the best of our heritage—the fight against oppression and for revolutionary socialism—be preserved and the worst of it—an infatuation with technocratic planning and strong states—be discarded. Revolutionaries must be the vanguard in the fight for common decency and true freedom. It is to that fight the RSL is committed, body and soul. Join us!

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ANTI-SEX LAW PASSED IN IRAN

The following is an article by Jon Thomas reprinted from the September 27-October 26, 1982, issue of the Forward, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.

In tightening the noose of its barbarous and reactionary dictatorship around the necks of the Iranian masses, the country's priestly tyrants have now reportedly seen fit to pass a law against "moral" crimes such as kissing for sexual pleasure, drinking alcohol and homosexuality.

The law (to be tried for a period) reportedly lays down punishments of 100 lashes for those found guilty for the first time of kissing for pleasure and death for persistent homosexuality, i.e., for being gay.

This brutal and abominable law highlights the dangers of the right-wing moral trends present in the so-called free world of the



Public execution of gay people in Teheran. Khomeini regime relies on terror to enforce political rule and reactionary moral code.

West. Thus, the New Right in the U.S. would make it a crime for women to have an abortion and for people to be gay.

Here in Jamaica the churches, counselors and "moralists"

in the society disapprove of straight sex for pleasure and deplore the growing "immorality," by which they generally mean the increasing sexual freedom and openness in the country.

They use the club of teenage pregnancies, rape and sexual abuse of children to try and drive people back into line. Finally, of course, the society has long been dominated by the idea that homosexuality is the utter abomination. Homosexuals in Jamaica are not only cursed but stoned, mobbed and beaten.

The key point is that the moment people's basic freedom to be themselves begins to be held down (usually by the powerful in the society and their agents), there is usually a tendency to repress this further and further. It is essentially a matter of degree between here and Iran. So deep is the dictatorship in Iran that you can't even take a drink in your own home without running the risk of being caught and punished. (Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how Iran's learned Islamic judges will determine whether persons charged with kissing for pleasure were really

doing so or were kissing out of sheer affection.)

According to the reports, Iran's new "moral" law will require four men to prove sexual offenses. If one male witness is missing two female substitutes will be accepted. Quite obviously this new law will lead to more people spying on each other, police and government interference in people's most intimate lives and the most horrible kind of dictatorship so commonly written about in novels. Equally disgusting is that the law's requirement for proof not only emphasizes that women are second-class citizens in present day Iranian society but also lays down officially that men are twice as good as women.

Conscious men and women everywhere must condemn this latest inhuman law of Khomeini's tyranny and demand freedom and dignity for the Iranian masses. □

Elections . . .

(Continued from page 3)

a comfortable lead over Deukmejian. But his lead evaporated in the last three weeks of the campaign after one of Deukmejian's campaign aides suggested (probably correctly) that the polls did not reflect anti-Black bias among white voters. On election day exit polls revealed that about four percent of the voters—some 150,000 people—voted for Deukmejian because they refused to support a Black candidate. Since Bradley lost by only about 50,000 votes, this racist backlash against him was clearly decisive.

In Mississippi another moderate Black politician running for the House of Representatives, Robert Clark, was narrowly defeated by conservative Republican Webb Franklin. Franklin campaigned under the thinly-disguised racist slogan: "A Congressman for Us." One white voter admitted to reporters: "I can't lie about it—it's the way I was raised—but I just don't want to see a Black man in that office."

Right-wing support was also clearly revealed wherever tough anti-crime measures were an election issue. In New York Republican Lew Lehrman, a conservative who stressed the crime issue in his campaign (he called for "tougher" judges and a restoration of the death penalty), only narrowly lost the governorship to Democrat Mario Cuomo. Cuomo, who ran as a liberal and opposed the death penalty, had been expected to

win easily. Similarly, voters in traditionally liberal Massachusetts endorsed restoration of the death penalty, while limitations on bail passed in Colorado, Arizona and Florida.

The New Right's losses in the elections were more a defeat for its hopes that it could implement its program through the electoral system than an indication that its social base has declined. Many conservative voters supported Reagan in 1980 because he openly supported the New Right's social programs, including opposition to abortion rights, lesbian and gay rights, busing and affirmative action, and endorsement of prayer in the public schools and other "traditional American values." But once in power the Reagan administration vacillated on these issues and ultimately chose to emphasize foreign policy and economic issues. At the same time, conservatives in Congress have so far been unable to push through measures like the Family Protection Act and the Human Life Amendment. Now the victory of Democratic and Republican moderates may also convince many supporters of the right-wing movement that relying on electoral campaigns and the "democratic process" in general will not achieve their aims. This may ultimately spur the growth of the more radical right-wing organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan.

But the other side of the po-

larization of U.S. society will be the development of mass protest movement against the capitalists in general and the Reagan offensive in particular. We suspect that the elections marked the beginning of a mass response by working and oppressed people against the attacks coming down on them. Today, this response has a moderate character, largely because most working class and lower middle class people have no clear idea of what to do about the state of the country and still hope that the politicians can reverse the economic decline.

But we can expect workers and other oppressed people to take more direct, militant action at some point in the future. As the economic crisis continues—and the bankruptcy of government efforts to end the crisis becomes more apparent—people will see that they have little choice but to fight back in a militant way. We suspect, however, that the developing movement will emerge under moderate-to-liberal, mostly Democratic Party leadership, and remain under such leadership for some period of time. Democratic politicians, Black leaders and union officials will certainly do everything they can to ensure this, since they hope to ride popular opposition to Reagan and the Republicans back into power. But if the economic, social and political crisis becomes as severe as we think it will, there will clearly be the potential for a developing mass movement, or at least part of it, to go beyond the control of capitalism's hired defenders. □

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